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ABSTRACT

This volume is part of a series that is designed to promote stronger ties between the educational resources in the Northeast and Midwest and the economic development process. This monograph examines programs that develop the employment potential of those youth who are not likely to make it on their own. It first looks at the problem of youth unemployment and describes the components of employability--the skills, attitudes, and behaviors that make a young person ready for a job. The following three chapters describe some activities business, education, and government leaders have undertaken; provide examples of business-education partnerships; and draw on current research to provide recommendations for action. Suggestions are made to policymakers in education, business, and government on contributions they can make in each of the four areas of employability development: basic skills, pre-employment competency, work maturity, and occupational skills. Activities to promote pre-employment competency and work maturity are combined in the discussion, as they are in many youth programs. The recommendations at the end of each chapter are intended to guide the way toward more effective strategies to prepare youth for work. A bibliography is appended. (YLB)

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Learning to Work

Improving Youth Employability

Paula Duggan
Jacqueline Mazza

Northeast-Midwest Institute:
The Center for Regional Policy

Education-Economic Development Series

4

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   Business-Higher Education Development Strategies
2. Literacy at Work:
   Developing Adult Basic Skills for Employment
3. Education Inc:
   How Schools Strengthen the Local Economy

Deborah Cooney
Series Editor

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1986

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David S. Harrison, Executive Director

The Northeast-Midwest Institute is a private, nonprofit organization devoted to research and public education on issues of regional concern. Since the Institute was established in 1977, its primary goal has been to ensure that federal policies are geographically equitable and responsive to the needs of the states that long have formed the nation's industrial heartland. The Institute's primary constituency is policy-makers from the Northeast and Midwest. Its work is used by corporate and labor leaders, academics, public interest groups and associations.

The Institute is unique among Washington policy centers because of its close working relationship with the Northeast-Midwest Congressional and Senate Coalitions and its strong ties to state officials in the region. These important constituencies ensure that the Institute's agenda addresses the needs of the region and, equally important, that its work will have an effect on national policy.

The Institute's research program provides timely analyses of current and pending federal legislation to members of Congress, state and local officials, and other groups. These studies provide a regional perspective on the consequences of national policy choices in a wide range of issue areas. Institute publications also identify important resources and options for policy-makers. The conclusions and opinions expressed in these publications are those of the authors or Institute alone.

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NORTHEAST MIDWEST INSTITUTE
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Preface

Too many young people are not ready for the working world. Fewer are working, more are performing poorly in school or dropping out. Employers complain that job applicants lack the basic education and workplace skills necessary for employment. Educators, under increasing public pressure because of the high failure rate, are looking for ways to connect schooling to successful employment. Elected officials also are growing alert to the economic problems and policy challenges posed by a shrinking youth labor pool made up increasingly of the disadvantaged and disconnected.

Learning to work is more difficult for some youth than for others. Many need help in acquiring basic skills, finding jobs, adapting to workplace practices, and gathering employment experience. Preparing these young people for work is too important a process to leave to chance. Reversing recent trends requires concerted investments of time, talent, and money. It is a complex endeavor that has to draw upon the combined resources of business, schools, and government.

Some efforts are beginning to show good results. This monograph examines programs that develop the employment potential of those youth who are not likely to make it on their own. It describes the components of employability—the skills, attitudes, and behaviors that make a young person ready for a job—and shows how the public and private sectors can draw on each other's strengths to link schooling and work. Practical suggestions are presented for school administrators, business leaders, and public officials to improve and expand their current efforts to make young people employable.

The need to develop the skills of the youth labor force is national, but the Northeast-Midwest region has a particularly vital interest in this issue. Well-educated workers, experienced in the demands of the workplace and adaptable to employers' needs, traditionally have been an asset of the region's economy, a key to expanding existing companies and attracting new businesses. The economic revitalization of the region depends on its ability to develop all of its labor resources fully. The next generation cannot be left undereducated and unemployable.

This is the fourth volume of a six-monograph series designed to promote stronger ties between the region's educational resources and the economic development process. Focusing on a single critical issue, each monograph encourages public policy makers and their counterparts in business and academic institutions to translate available ideas into pragmatic solutions. The series explores strategies that touch all educational levels, from local K-12 public school systems to higher education.

This education-economic development series is made possible through the generous support of the American Can Company Foundation.

1. Youth and Employment: A Look at the Problem

A quiet crisis is building throughout our nation, one destined to worsen if steps are not taken to do something about it. Millions of our young people are out of work—cannot get work—because they lack the education and proper skills to qualify for jobs. For every unemployed adult, two young people are out of work; among Hispanic youth that number climbs to three, and for blacks it is five.

Estranged from the schools where they performed poorly, often unable to enter the work force because they cannot satisfy minimum requirements of even simple jobs, today's unemployed youth face a bleak future unless someone intervenes. These youth are not in a position to help themselves escape this dilemma. Policy makers and the public are concerned about adult unemployment, but few realize the scope of the predicament for jobless youth.

The Committee for Economic Development termed the situation "not only an economic tragedy, but a human tragedy of dire dimensions."[1] The National Commission on Excellence in Education warns that the United States is becoming "a nation at risk" because of a youth population unprepared to meet the changing job requirements imposed by technological advancement and international competition.

According to the Commission, the skills of most 16- to 19-year-olds are deficient.[2] The problem involves all young people to some extent, but is particularly concentrated among the "disadvantaged"—youth from poor families and from racial and ethnic minority groups. Many of these young people have severe educational deficiencies and face nearly insurmountable barriers to employment. Often, they lack the basic skills needed to find and hold even a first job.

And things generally are not getting better. Young people did not gain their share of the jobs brought back or created in the recovery from the 1981-82 recession. A distressing trend has emerged: the proportion of youth in the general population is decreasing, but the number with employment problems is growing. In other words, even as fewer young people are available to take jobs, more of them are unfit to fill them.

The ranks of youth increasingly are made up of the very groups—the poor and minorities—who experience the greatest difficulties with school and work. These youth in general complete fewer years of school, suffer from lower levels of educational attainment, and have minimal or nonexistent experience with work. A recent National Alliance of Business report found that "the most rapidly growing, yet most vulnerable, of the nation's labor pool is concentrated where schools are inferior, work experience opportunities are poorest, and available full-time jobs are declining."[3]

The youth unemployment rate consistently is double that of adults. Rates are even higher for

poor and minority youth. In 1985, the unemployment rate for white 16- to 19-year-olds was 16 percent, but it was 23.7 percent for Hispanics and 42.7 percent for blacks.[4] Even more disadvantaged youth have given up looking for work altogether. These numbers do not show up in unemployment calculations, thus masking the full extent of youth joblessness.

Many of today's unprepared youth are on the road to becoming tomorrow's hardcore unemployed. Their difficulties start early, often before reaching grade school, and extend beyond the teenage years. Early labor market troubles are good predictors of problems in adulthood; initial joblessness results in a higher probability of unemployment over the years and lower lifetime wages. These long-term effects carry high costs for society: lost productivity and earnings, unemployment and welfare payments, prosecution and incarceration of those resorting to crime, and costly remedial programs to compensate for the original failures.

The private sector knows that a labor force with skills fully developed to meet work demands is essential for economic growth. Businesses invest billions annually in training. They see the development of employees' skills as key to improving productivity and profitability. But employers' programs are geared to workers already on the job who demonstrate a good capacity for learning. These in-house programs are not intended for those who lack a firm grasp on the educational fundamentals.

For these reasons, public funding to equip people with the skills they need for work is important. Investments in basic skills instruction, counseling, job-search training, and work preparation pay off in the future. They benefit the individual, and also help promote a healthy climate for business growth and expanded employment opportunities.

Unfortunately, existing public and private programs are a fraction of what is needed for young people at risk.

Regional Dimensions

High rates of youth dropping out of school and facing unemployment are occurring throughout the country. Nationwide, 28 percent of students may not graduate from high school.[5] The problem in many cities is even more severe. Over 55 percent of all public school students in Chicago do not graduate; in New York City, 45 percent fail.[6]

The Northeast-Midwest region has a vital stake in the health of its youth labor force. One of its key economic assets has been a large number of well-trained workers. In the past, population increase was a dynamic source of growth for the region's economy, providing a steady stream of workers for industry. However, lower birth rates in the 1960s resulted in a decline in young entrants to the labor force in the 1980s.

In keeping with overall demographic trends, the fall-off in the youth part of the population has been greater in the Northeast-Midwest region than in the rest of the country. From 1980 to 1984, the youth population fell by 11.5 percent in the Northeast-Midwest compared with a 7.3 percent drop in the South and West.

In addition, the aging of the general population due to slower population growth and longer life spans has been more pronounced in the Northeast-Midwest region than elsewhere. Taken together,

minimal population growth plus fewer youth and more elderly persons mean that economic expansion in the Northeast and Midwest will depend on more productive use of existing labor resources. Simply put, the region cannot afford idle or underused youth if it wants to maintain a healthy economy.

Another source of economic strength in the Northeast-Midwest region has been skill level of its workers. The region's ability to sustain this asset, however, is slipping. Traditionally, Northeast and Midwest states have spent more on education than other states—with good results. Secondary school graduation rates are highest in the Northeast-Midwest region—80.1 percent overall (see Appendix A). The region has more college graduates and generally higher levels of academic achievement than other areas. Now, however, state governments are mounting a new drive for educational reform,[7] with the South taking the lead in many areas. While these states strive to "catch up," Northeastern and Midwestern states seek to maintain their edge in education and training in the face of competing claims for funding.

The region's work force has developed a third advantage over the years that complements sheer numbers and good education: experience. In general, the Northeast-Midwest region has a greater percentage of young people working than other regions. Six of the region's states—Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, and New Jersey—have enjoyed recent healthy trends of reduced youth unemployment rates even as more youth entered the labor force. Other states in the region are not g as well. Michigan's youth unemployment rate, at 24.5 percent, is the sixth highest in the nation.

Some of the statistical "improvement" in the overall unemployment rate has resulted from young people dropping out of the labor market altogether (see Appendix B). In Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin, unemployment rates among youth still actively looking for work have risen at the same time that large numbers are giving up in their search for work. In New York, the employment/population ratio—a comparison of persons employed to total population—shows only 34 percent of the state's youth working, one of the lowest rates in the nation (see Appendix C).

Statewide data mask the high incidence of unemployment in major cities and many rural areas, particularly for minority populations. Youth unemployment in New York City was over 40 percent in 1984, while it was 19.4 percent for the state as a whole. The Northeast-Midwest region has many areas where teenage labor market problems are among the worst in the country. Of the top ten metropolitan areas with the highest youth unemployment in 1984, seven were in the Northeast-Midwest region: Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, New York, and Pittsburgh.[8] This combination of high unemployment and declining proportions of youth in the general work force signal an escalating problem in many Northeast and Midwest states.

Jobs in the teenage years lead to adult employment by providing experience and personal contacts for later on; early jobs are a chance to form "working capital." When youth remain unemployed or drop out of the labor force altogether, they lose invaluable op-

portunities to *learn about working*. Unemployed youth mean real losses to today's economy. More importantly, youth joblessness portends a greater problem in the future, when employers will be unable to find experienced adult workers to fill job openings. Policy makers in both the public and private sectors should make programs to prepare young people for work a top priority. Otherwise, these youth may be lost to the U.S. economy of the future.

What is Employability?

Despite its severity, the youth unemployment problem does not defy solution. Major federal investments in research in the 1970s identified successful strategies for intervening in the lives of young people to develop the characteristics of employability. "Employability" means the capacity and willingness to do the job. Basic skills, such as reading and math, and rudimentary occupational skills form the foundation. But employability encompasses a wider range of skills needed for work, including the appropriate attitudes and motivation, behavior, and interpersonal skills. Youth program practitioners generally agree that employability has four components: basic skills, pre-employment competency, work maturity, and occupational skills. This broad vision guides youth programs run under the auspices of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), the federal government's current youth preparation strategy.[9]

Basic Skills. These include the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic; they also include speaking standard English and listening to and understanding instructions. Mastery of the basics translates into an ability to apply them to work situations and to learn new aspects of a job.

Pre-employment Competency. This is a range of skills a person uses in searching for a job. It includes a general knowledge of the working world, an understanding of the local job market, and a realistic assessment of one's place in it. Job-search techniques such as filling out applications, preparing resumes, and handling interviews are necessary skills. An understanding of career ladders, work histories, and credentials also is important in making connections with work.

Work Maturity. These skills signal that an individual is ready to perform in a job. They include behavioral qualities such as punctuality, consistent attendance, personal neatness, working well with others, following instructions, and completing tasks. Work maturity also means the ability to take initiative, accept constructive criticism, and be flexible.

Occupational Skills. Occupational skills are the most job-specific of all the components of employability. They include technical proficiency in a given job and specific occupational knowledge.

Programs to develop these four clusters of skills have evolved over the past 20 years and commonly are called "employability development" programs. They seek to improve the capacity of individuals to compete in the job market, that is, to improve the labor supply. Such programs do not address the demand side problem of too few jobs.[10] Nor do they redress other social and economic conditions that may work against youth, such as word-of-mouth hiring practices, racial discrimination, or household demands that keep many young people—especially teenaged mothers—out of the job market.

Programs to develop the employment potential of young people do improve their chances of success in the labor market. Experience shows that such learning-to-work activities raise employment levels and earnings of youth and have the greatest impact on the disadvantaged. The most effective programs are comprehensive, include all aspects of employability, and consist of a planned sequence of activities in which youth achieve small successes step by step. Today's best public and private-sector youth programs incorporate this knowledge about targeting and sequencing, gained through careful research in youth programs since the 1960s. The youth problem persists and grows not because of lack of knowledge about how to solve it, but lack of commitment to do so.

Today, business, education, and government leaders are stepping up efforts to prepare youth for work. For some, new attention at the secondary level comes too late. For many others, special programs make the difference. The next three chapters describe some of these activities, presenting "real world" examples of business-education partnerships and drawing on current research to provide recommendations for action.

Suggestions are made to policy makers in education, business, and government on contributions they can make in each of the four areas of employability development: basic skills, pre-employment competency, work maturity, and occupational skills. Activities to promote pre-employment competency and work maturity are combined in the discussion as they are in many youth programs. The recommendations at the end of each chapter are intended to guide the way toward more effective strategies to preparing youth for work.

2. Basic Skills

Basic skills—reading, writing, and mathematics—are the fundamental tools for work. Lacking them, young people stand little chance of getting a job. Andrew Kahn and Robert Lerman, research associates at Brandeis University, recently conducted a thorough review of past programs that prepare youth for work. Their findings show that the most important factor in persistent youth unemployment is lack of basic educational skills.[11]

Basic skills deficiencies among today's youth are alarming by any standards. The National Assessment of Educational Progress, the ongoing study of student achievement, finds that 13 percent of all 17-year-olds fail to attain reading and writing competence beyond the sixth-grade level. Only one-third of all 17-year-olds are able to solve mathematical problems requiring several steps; nearly 49 percent cannot draw inferences from written material.[12]

The U.S. Department of Education estimates that one million teenagers leave school each year functionally illiterate—unable to read, write, or compute with the proficiency needed to function in society. The Center for Public Resources, a private research organization established by the life and health insurance industries, found serious inadequacies in the basic skills of employees in these industries. In the Center's 1982 survey, companies reported significant problems in reading, writing, and science, plus reasoning, ng, and listening among the majority of their employees in clerical, blue-collar, management and supervisory positions.[13]

The rising number of teenagers dropping out of high school compounds the nationwide weakness in basic skills preparation. The National Center for Education Statistics estimates that 28 percent of those entering the ninth grade may not graduate. Frustration with their inability to read, write, and compute up to the level of their peers usually prompts the decision to leave school. The dropout problem is severe among minorities and the poor, who make up an increasingly large percentage of the current school-age population and the future work force. Having left school, these young people are unlikely to get the remedial education they need to perform in the workplace.

Definition of the constituents of basic skills has evolved as the demands of the economy have changed. Today's requirements include mastery of reading, writing, and mathematics, plus the ability to learn new information, analyze, and draw inferences. Employers, educators, and youth themselves have different perceptions of which skills are most important for finding and holding a job.

A task force of the Committee for Economic Development, a business-led policy group, declared recently that employers required two "absolute essentials" for job readiness: good character and fluency in English.[14] However, the 1982 Center for Public Resources study found that line su-

pervisors, personnel officers, and youth themselves tended to see occupational skills and "technological literacy" as the prerequisites for employment. Yet, company executives and youth program operators stressed the importance of basic skills in reading and math plus good work attitudes and behavior.[15] William Grady, president of Albuquerque National Bank, agreed with this latter view. "Send me a kid who can read and write and add a little, and [one] who has the right attitude. The company will train him. We'll do the rest," he stated.[16]

In general, the private sector has taken the stance that basic skills are the responsibility of the educational system. The study by the Center for Public Resources came to this conclusion. "What business decidedly indicated it did not want to do, but is in fact doing, is to educate its employees in ninth- and tenth-grade skills."[17]

Employees acquire specific occupational skills most readily in company-provided training on the job. Sponsors used to assume that trainees had mastered the basics in school. Increasingly, however, businesses are finding that employees need remedial help with basic skills before they are ready to begin more technical training. The military services have dealt with these deficiencies with a massive rewriting of training manuals to bring them down to the level of new recruits.

In response to the basic skills problem among both school graduates and dropouts, many businesses have paid for or provided basic skills training themselves to improve productivity among workers. The second monograph in this series, *Literacy at Work*, recommended steps that schools and businesses could take to combat illiteracy in the labor force.

However, many businesses want to change their role in basic skills training. The cost of remedial education and the number needing help have caused businesses to turn away from exclusively in-house solutions to the problem. Several industry-related groups, through various committees and task force reports, have recommended that companies gear their efforts toward preparation at the school site rather than remedial training on the job. Many business leaders seem to agree with the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth of the Education Commission of the States. Its report, *Action for Excellence*, states, "It should be our long-range goal to end remedial courses wherever possible: to make them unnecessary—because our schools will have done their work effectively the first time."[18]

Business leaders must continue to stress to school administrators the importance of basic skills in readying youth for jobs. **Business leaders should tell school officials what levels of verbal and mathematical proficiency they expect from youth entering the marketplace. School officials should solicit this information and enlist business help in the planning of basic skills curricula.**

Many businesses have committed time and money helping school systems fulfill their mission of teaching basic skills. An early example of business-education collaboration is the Boston Compact. Several of the city's firms and unions, acknowledging the direct connection between quality education and employee performance, joined with the educational system to promote the link between schooling and work.

Business leaders and school of-

ficials jointly established goals for the education system. Businesses agreed to give hiring preference to local graduates in return for educational improvements such as better attendance and higher test scores. City officials gave strong political support, which contributed to the project's success. The Boston schools exceeded nearly all goals for better educational performance in the first year of the project. Impressed by the success of the Boston Compact, Cleveland, Ohio, and Oakland, California, have launched similar efforts. More are in the planning stage.

Collaborations between businesses and schools often begin with a focus on the other components of employability, despite mutual concern over basic educational attainment. The Boston Compact shows that the goal of gains in basic skills can be the basis for productive school-business partnerships. School administrators can draw on business executives' knowledge of work demands to determine basic competency standards.

The two groups can work together to plan a basic skills program promoting agreed-upon levels of student achievement. Business can reciprocate by pledging jobs for students who perform up to companies' expectations. **Both school and business officials should make gains in basic skills the basis for new partnerships. In addition, school officials should seek business participation on educational planning and advisory boards to define the improvements needed in the schools' product. Businesses should make hiring commitments in return for better student performance.**

Emphasis on basic skills training may be a top-level policy decision involving the leadership of an area's business, labor, educational, and political communities—as in the case of the Boston Compact. The effort also might start smaller, with companies and schools working together one-to-one. In such partnerships, called "Adopt-a-School" or "Join-a-School," a company pairs itself with a specific school. Company employees tutor individual students in a remedial education program or work with them in other education-related activities. For example, employees of Time, Inc. tutor high school students in Queens, N.Y., in reading, writing, and math. Other companies use their organizations's strengths more directly. In New York, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) brings its communications expertise to adopted schools by lending video and television equipment, arranging site visits, and offering internships.

"Adopt-a-School" partnerships can take other forms as well. In Dallas, over 1,000 businesses have adopted virtually all of the city's 200 public schools. Some companies loan equipment to their schools to ensure up-to-date instruction; others work with school administrators to improve management techniques. The Adopt-a-School concept is flexible enough to allow companies whose primary concern is with basic skills to focus their efforts in that area. The adopted school on the other hand can use offers of business help to suit the school's and students' needs. **Company officials should examine what resources—equipment, management expertise, release time for employee volunteers—they can bring to an adoptive relationship, committing them to the goal of school and student**

improvement. Organizing employees for tutoring programs is a concrete way for companies to help upgrade basic skills.

Successful partnerships to improve basic skills must fit the needs of the particular youth population. The New Bedford-Hyannis (Massachusetts) Private Industry Council (PIC) used a highly flexible model for two different youth problems in its service area. In New Bedford, where educational problems are severe, the PIC emphasizes basic skills to bring youth up to a level where job-oriented training can be successful. The skills and aptitude levels of each youth "client" are measured with a formal test and a face-to-face interview. Students then use an individualized, competency-based curriculum, the Comprehensive Competencies Program (CCP), to teach themselves with help from the instructor. This program allows students to proceed at their own pace, enjoying small successes along the way.

In Hyannis, where the overall youth skill level is higher, CCP instruction is geared to helping young people earn a high school diploma or GED. This instruction is combined with pre-employment seminars and an occupational training program. About 150 sites around the country use CCP. By matching basic skills instruction to the needs of each youth, the program allows the PIC and its clients to get the maximum advantage.

Youth programs work best when they are tailored to individual needs. For many youth, this means focusing on basic skills and emphasizing the importance of a high school diploma or GED. Research repeatedly has shown that the higher the level of education achieved, the more likely a person is to find and hold a job. A high school diploma or its equivalent is an important job credential, recognized by employers and used widely as an employment screening device. The job market is virtually closed to those without one.

Programs operated by the 70001 Training and Employment Institute, a nonprofit training organization, base their instruction on the essential need for a diploma or GED. The 70001 programs are designed to help youth whose educational deficiencies create severe barriers to employment. In 1984, the organization helped over 3,600 youth, many of them hard-to-employ dropouts, in over 50 locations nationwide. Most 70001 participants have significant hardships to contend with. Many read at a sixth-grade level, many are functionally illiterate, and one-third have dependent children.

The programs have four components: educational instruction, work-readiness training, motivational activities, and job placement with follow-up. The educational component is designed to improve participants' reading, writing, and mathematical skills through one-to-one tutoring, individual study, and ongoing assessment, with earning a GED as the focus of their energies. In Jamestown, New York, 70001 forged a partnership with the Boys Club of America. The two groups created a "full-service" program including educational instruction, work-readiness training, motivational activities, job placement, and recreation. Funding comes from all sectors of the community: corporations, education, welfare, employment and training agencies, and private donors.

In the current spate of broad-based educational reforms, disad-

vantaged youth with serious employability problems may be overlooked. When youth programs target their efforts on those most in need, such as those served by 70001, the payoff in the long run is greatest. **Schools and businesses should reexamine school reform efforts in light of the problems of the disadvantaged. They should invest in programs to help these youth reach the educational level necessary for employment.** Without this attention, well-meaning efforts of schools to raise achievement levels alone may not help the disadvantaged. Imposition of higher standards, longer school days, and other reforms may produce more frustration, failure, and dropping out among those students who are already finding it difficult to keep pace.[19]

One way to raise the skill level of youth who fall behind in the regular school year is to provide them with instruction during the summer. Studies show that more fortunate youth continue to learn during the summer break, while their disadvantaged peers lose ground. One study estimates that up to 80 percent of the difference in the retention of knowledge from year to year occurs during the summer.[20] Evidence of this summer learning gap suggests that a "summer strategy" may be useful in increasing the long-term employability of disadvantaged youth.

Public/Private Ventures (P/PV), a Philadelphia-based research and demonstration organization, developed a summer training and remediation program targeted to 14- and 15-year-olds. With financial support from the Ford Foundation and the federal Job Training Partnership Act, P/PV tested the program in Boston, Baltimore, and Pinellas County, Florida, in 1984. It selected as participants young people who were at least two grade levels behind their peers. Nearly 10 percent were on public assistance. All were disadvantaged.

The program consisted of a half-day of work experience and a half-day of remedial education and life-planning. Youth in the first summer's demonstration made gains, relative to a control group, in both mathematics and English. The P/PV project placed participants in their half-day jobs through the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program (SYETP), a federal program under JTPA that provides summer jobs for approximately 700,000 disadvantaged youth each year.

Two proposals are pending in Congress that encourage this combination of federal summer jobs and remedial education. One bill, introduced by Representatives Hamilton Fish, Jr. (R-NY) and Robert W. Edgar (D-PA), would authorize an additional appropriation of $100 million for Chapter I of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act for remedial activities for participants in the summer youth jobs program. Local education agencies would negotiate agreements with the local Private Industry Council and JTPA authorities detailing how funds would be used and what services would be provided by whom and to whom.

A second proposal by Representative Pat Williams (D-MT) would combine some existing JTPA funds for education with matching funds from local governments and the private sector, and earmark them for remedial training. Including remedial activities in the summer jobs program also has become a priority of the U.S. Department of Labor. The de-

partment encourages PICs to use JTPA funds for more literacy training, a move that will prompt more PIC activities in this area. **Federal policy makers should promote agressively the combination of jobs and remedial education to provide youth with basic skills training in the summer months.**

More severely disadvantaged youth require longer-term and more intensive strategies than a summer program can offer. The Job Corps is a comprehensive federal program devoted exclusively to education and job training for the most disadvantaged. With over 20 years experience, Job Corps has demonstrated its ability to improve employment and earnings for youth who face the most difficult barriers to success in the labor market.[12]

Many factors contribute to the effectiveness of Job Corps: a greater range and intensity of services than found in other programs, and a combination of remedial education, work, and skills training. In addition, the residential nature of the program allows for around-the-clock supervision and exposure to positive values, attitudes, and behaviors sometimes missing from their home environments. **Federal policy makers should continue full support for the Job Corps as a worthwhile investment in the future of youth who otherwise will remain unemployable.**

Widespread concern over basic skills calls for cooperative action by school administrators, business leaders, and government officials. Special intensive efforts are called for to assure young people the basic education required for work. This is true especially for disadvantaged youth, where the problem is concentrated. Only when those youth unlikely to make it on their own are ready for productive employment will these school-business collaborations be termed successful.

Recommendations

School and business officials should:

- emphasize basic skills as a core element of any youth employability program;
- assess carefully the basic skill levels of the local youth population and tailor programs accordingly;
- ensure that resources are adequately targeted to the most in need; and
- develop special programs to reach dropouts and promote the attainment of a high school diploma or GED.

School officials should:

- seek business advice and help in planning the basic skills curriculum;
- set realistic goals and clearly defined objectives for improving basic skills achievement and school attendance; and
- work with local businesses to provide summer classes in basic skills coupled with part-time jobs.

Business officials should:

- clarify their expectations about youth and the level of basic skills required in the workplace, and convey this information to school officials;
- work with school officials to improve the basic skills curriculum;
- develop "adopt-a-school" programs and organize their em-

ployees to participate in volunteer efforts to provide tutoring and remedial help for individual youth; and
- make the basic skills connection meaningful by giving young people jobs to reinforce good performance in school.

Federal officials should:

- supplement the existing summer youth jobs program with basic skills instruction; and
- continue and expand the Job Corps to increase the employability of disadvantaged youth.

3. Pre-Employment Competency and Work Maturity

Newcomers to the job market need more than basic education to succeed in the working world. They also must learn the techniques of job-hunting and develop appropriate attitudes and behaviors for the workplace. Youth program operators call these sets of skills pre-employment competency and work maturity. They do not substitute for basic education, but they are necessary for putting educational achievements to use. Young people can acquire these skills partly from books or in classrooms; however, they are developed and assimilated most effectively through imitation of adult behavior and experience in the outside world.

The majority of American youth acquire pre-employment competency and work maturity from a combination of three sources: their home environments; informal exposure to work through chores, odd jobs, and community activities; and schooling. For many disadvantaged youth, however, the immediate family is fractured and support from an extended family or friends and neighbors is weak. Impoverished environments are poor sources of workplace information and values. Few employed people are on hand to act as role models, provide work connections, or give guidance and information on careers. Actual jobs, another source of learning, are virtually nonexistent in many areas. The third source—schools—also may fail to convey the knowledge or produce the socialization necessary for the disadvantaged to find their way into the work force. The probable result is a lifetime of intermittent, low-level employment and poverty.

Schools always have played a role in imparting the skills used in work. In recent years, that role has expanded to include access to the working world itself. School systems have instituted guidance and counseling services and given them an important place in educational programs.

For many students, schools now serve as the main avenue of contact with the working world. Teaching young people how to search out job openings and plan careers has become a necessary and accepted function of secondary schools. However, guidance counsellors often are swamped by caseloads in the hundreds, preventing them from giving adequate help to those needing it most. In many systems, counsellors direct most of their attention to the college-bound; "placement" offices frequently are little more than repositories for college catalogs. Fewer resources and less expertise are available to students who plan to go to work directly after high school.

The skills of pre-employment competency and work maturity are bridges between the worlds of education and work. Programs to impart these skills are a natural starting point for educational systems and private employers to work together. Both have their own particular kind of expertise and resources to contribute, as

well as sharing a mutual, common-sense understanding of what pre-employment competency and work maturity mean.

The federal Job Training Partnership Act also encourages collaborative efforts in these skill areas and has given impetus to the development of joint programs. Thanks to this coincidence of understanding and interest, pre-employment competency and work maturity programs have formed the basis for many flourishing alliances between business and education around the country. **Schools and businesses should take advantage of their mutual interests and develop programs for pre-employment competency and work maturity as first steps in building more comprehensive school-to-work partnerships.**

A person's knowledge of the working world and adaptability to its routines make a big difference to employers in deciding who to hire, promote, or fire. Programs developing the skills of pre-employment competency and work maturity help young people become employable and promote their chances for successful careers. Some of the programs discussed in this chapter are classroom-based; others use jobs themselves as the primary learning vehicle. The best combine both approaches. Especially for the disadvantaged, whose living environments may convey scant learning for work, special programs provide the best opportunities for developing the traits needed for employment.

Pre-employment competency programs begin with the recognition that youth often are unaware of their own assets or liabilities as potential employees. Frequently they do not understand how their accomplishments relate to demands on the job or how best to present themselves and their abilities to employers. Many have unrealistically high expectations for their first jobs, thinking that some types of work are beneath them. Others' expectations of themselves are too low.

A lack of knowledge about how to look for work or market themselves to employers greatly handicaps many youth in their job search. On the other side, employers find it impossible to distinguish among job candidates whose identical credentials say little about the special contributions each might make to a job.

One program to overcome these difficulties is the Career Passport, designed by the Institute for Work and Learning in Washington, D.C. The Career Passport program helps teenagers identify their assets and translate them into selling points to use in job hunting. In the program, youth develop an experience-based resume, or passport, which describes their academic work, previous jobs, and outside activities in terms relevant to employers.

The Passport is both a process and a product. Youth work through a series of exercises to discover their strengths and weaknesses, explore career options, plan next steps for education and work, and learn about job-hunting techniques. They use the resulting document in the course of actual job searching. Employer panels in Worcester, Massachusetts, and Santa Clara, California, contributed to the relevance of the passport process by giving advice on how employers evaluate job applicants and how youth can match their life experiences to local employer needs.

The Institute for Work and Learning recognizes the central role of the classroom teacher in

employability development and trains them in the "how-tos" of creating a Career Passport. The Institute encourages school districts to start the passport exercises early, preferably in the ninth grade. Typically, the process is integrated into the curriculum through English or social studies classes or into guidance and counseling activities. Instructors can grade students' workbook exercises as part of English classes or assign research projects that involve learning about career fields. For example, students might interview staff of local companies as part of a survey project.[22]

Incorporating work concepts into the curriculum does not present teachers with a burden but with a new tool for instruction. **Educational administrators should relate schooling to the world of work and provide training for teachers in how best to integrate work concepts into the high school curricula. Businesses should advise school officials on ways to help young people recognize and develop their job-relevant experience and present it to potential employers in meaningful terms.**

Job Readiness Training (JRT) is another program that promotes both pre-employment competency and work maturity through a special course of classroom-based exercises. JRT, developed by MDC Inc., a North Carolina research and demonstration organization, operates in over 50 schools in that state. Participants, selected mostly from economically disadvantaged groups, often have negative self-images and poor academic records. They spend the first half of the full-year, ungraded course completing personal growth and development exercises. They encompass building positive attitudes and self-image, improving family and peer relationships, and increasing their decision-making skills. The second half of the course emphasizes the job hunt, application, and interview processes. The program limits its class size to 10 to 15 students and stresses active participation in discussions and field trips to company premises.

The JRT program gives students an opportunity to develop their understanding of the working world and improve their options before plunging directly into a job search. The motivational and self-improvement aspects of the program contribute to students' work maturity. The attention to job-search training complements the school's academic program. It motivates underachieving students and gives them self-confidence in present schooling and for their future working lives.

School administrators became enthusiastic supporters of this program from the beginning. They touted its long-term advantages to classroom teachers and made the necessary contacts with the business community. Local employers contributed to the program by acting as project advisors, designing actual program components, and participating with students and school faculty in evaluating its strengths and weaknesses. The success of the program in North Carolina prompted Florida school officials to adopt it statewide, with the help of JTPA funds and foundation support. **School officials should offer programs to help students develop self-awareness and job-market skills, especially those likely to encounter the greatest obstacles to employment. Employers can advise schools on how best to**

prepare students for the job-search process and working life. They also can help plan programs geared to local labor markets.

The Philadelphia school district recently launched a training program with yet another design for developing pre-employment competency and work maturity. It includes business support during the actual training, plus an innovative follow-up component. Marion B.W. Holmes, executive director of the district's Career and Vocational Education Center, considers the follow-up a large factor in the program's success. "[In this program] the teacher-coordinator develops the jobs, places the students in the jobs, and then follows up with visitations on site." She said, "we call that 'brokering jobs' for the young person."[23]

The program's one-year curriculum was designed by the Work in America Institute of Scarsdale, N.Y., and now operates in 11 Philadelphia schools. Students first learn a broad range of job hunting and employment skills. The classroom becomes a "career laboratory" modelled and equipped like an office with video-recording and playback equipment, telephones, and copiers. Nearly 50 small and large business have supported the program by donating equipment and services. Honeywell Corporation of Minneapolis contributed 21 computers, allowing students to learn appropriate skills using the latest technology.

More important than equipment is the connection businesses set up between the working world and students' performance. Business volunteers conduct mock interviews, explain career options, and in many cases, provide students with jobs. At the job site, the program's teachers act as mentors, helping students to work out problems and adjust to their work situations. This support on the job can be a crucial factor in developing a positive employer-employee relationship. The presence of business volunteers in schools and teachers in the workplace connects the two worlds for students. **Businesses can support job search/job-holding programs with financial contributions or in-kind volunteer services. Businesses can work with school guidance counselors to identify local employment openings appropriate for "mentoring" situations.**

The Jobs for America's Graduates (JAG) program emphasizes job placement as the way to help high school seniors make the transition from school to work. Begun in Delaware, the program now operates at sites in several states, including Tennessee and Arizona. It provides pre-employment skills development, career exploration, and job-search assistance to students unlikely to succeed in the workplace on their own.

"Job specialists" under contract with JAG work in the schools with JAG participant "clients" individually and in groups. They help students put together academic curricula, choose occupational training appropriate to their interests and background, and identify employment opportunities. After placing the young people in jobs, these specialists work with their newly employed clients throughout the next year, helping them adjust to workplace demands.

JAG also organizes complementary "career associations" with club-type activities to attract students to the program, develop their leadership qualities and sense of responsibility, and moti-

vate them. Similar to vocational education-based clubs such as Future Farmers of America, these associations have local, state, and national offices and meet at a national convention every year. In holding competitions, sponsoring social outings, and organizing elective offices, JAG associations give disadvantaged students, who often are left out of regular "student government" activities, opportunities for development important to success in jobs and in life.

Studies of the effectiveness of JAG and other transition programs show substantial employment and earnings gains for disadvantaged youth in the first year out of school. However, most of the improvement is attributable to participants' steadier work rather than any substantial improvement in their skills or wage levels. Without attention to basic skills deficiencies, first-year gains can disappear in the second year. These findings reveal more about the need for comprehensive programs in addressing the special problems of the disadvantaged than they discredit other, more limited types of programs.

The goals of pre-employment competency and work maturity programs are narrow: they aim specifically to improve youths' chances for finding and holding jobs. Evaluations suggest strongly that programs of job search and placement should not stand alone. **In general, long-term, more intense and comprehensive programs encompassing all four aspects of employability have the greatest impact on youths' future employment prospects.** Fostering work skills among the disadvantaged especially requires long-term attention. **School and business officials should ex- [illegible] their joint school-to-work transition programs. However, they also should concentrate on improving basic educational levels of students in employability development programs.**

The Polaroid Corporation created an independent subsidiary, Inner City Inc., to involve itself directly in training disadvantaged youth. Although the program aims to develop pre-employment skills and work maturity, basic skills instruction plays a large part in its activities. It lasts a minimum of 16 weeks and is organized into phases through which trainee employees move. The purpose is to orient employees to manufacturing, but emphasis is on those qualities that make an individual more eligible to obtain and retain a job: attendance, productivity, attitudes, personal habits, and basic educational skills. According to Richard Lawson, president and chairman of the board of Inner City: "We provide counseling at every stage of the program. And, we believe very strongly that training is meaningless without a job at the end."[24] A study of the first group of trainees who "graduated" to full-time positions with the Polaroid Corporation found that 80 percent stayed nine years or more.

Other companies have seen the advantages in tieing pre-employment and work maturity programs with basic skills and work experience. The New Horizons Project, a local business-education alliance in Richmond, Virginia, works with the school system to assist economically disadvantaged students identified as potential dropouts. The year-round project begins in the months before the eleventh grade. In the summer, youth work in paid employment for half the day and attend regular classes the other half.

During the regular school term, students attend basic education classes in reading, writing, and speech. They also learn life skills such as personal budgeting and consumer awareness, and receive some computer training. Participants must maintain good attendance and make reasonable grades (generally a C average). They receive weekly reports on their progress from the instructors. With the aid of a job counselor, youth also work on improving workplace behavior and attitudes. Job counselors have become instrumental in solving work-related problems, such as aversion to criticism and correction. Program operators acknowledge that the academic criteria tend to exclude the most difficult-to-employ youth. But those meeting program requirements are placed in entry-level clerical and sales positions in local corporations.

The New Horizons Project enjoys strong corporate ties. Several business leaders designed and implemented the program working through the local Private Industry Council. Businesses found that the project gave them opportunities to try out potential employees; many hired New Horizons trainees after graduation. Several made multi-year commitments to earmark entry-level positions for trainees completing the program. This kind of stability allows the program's directors and businesses themselves to plan the program's future carefully; it also improves the quality of the experience for youth. **Business leaders should expand their efforts to hire youth from programs emphasizing pre-employment skills, work-readiness training, and academic study. Business commitments should be multi-year to assure stable, well-planned programs.**

The Job Training Partnership Act offers tangible incentives for business involvement in these kinds of programs through its exemplary youth program called "try-out-employment." This program, which the local PIC may choose to operate, provides compensation to participants in lieu of wages for up to 250 hours of employment in the private sector, which may include part-time work for up to 20 hours per week during the school term and full-time summer jobs. Businesses pledge to hire participants at the end of the tryout period. Meanwhile, the company receives the benefits of their labor without the payroll costs, while students learn first-hand about the demands of working life. The law emphasizes the learning nature of "try-out employment" by stating that disadvantaged youth usually would not be hired for these positions because of their lack of experience and other barriers to employment.

School officials also have a direct interest in this program, since the law limits participation to youth enrolled in secondary schools or GED programs who meet academic and attendance requirements. **Private Industry Councils should fully use JTPA's provisions for try-out employment to give disadvantaged youth the experience of working in the private sector. Schools should ask PICs to organize try-out employment positions for their disadvantaged students. Businesses should create slots where these youth can be put to work.**

The Smokey House Project in Danby, Vermont, is another program that gives disadvantaged youth the chance to learn to work through actual work experience. Targeted to potential dropouts, it involves work projects in carpen-

try, agriculture, forestry, and appropriate technology. Participants and their supervisors, or "crew leaders," draw up a "work plan agreement" that lays out goals and tracks individual progress in mastering tasks. This process is a practical example of what JTPA envisions for youth programs: formulation of an individual employability development plan for every person—one that measures achievements leading to a positive goal.

Youth work at Smokey House four hours a day during the school year earning minimum wages; they attend school the other half-day. The project maintains a strict "no school, no work" policy. In the eight-week summer session, the youth work at Smokey House all day. In addition to "hands-on" experience, crew leaders emphasize the specific math, language, and science skills used in the work projects, encouraging participants to develop or improve these skills to solve practical work problems. Crew leaders also talk with teachers about their weekly lesson plans to coordinate youths' work program with their schooling.

The Smokey House Project uses experience itself to foster work maturity. Its designers saw that while jobs are important for the income they produce in the short term, their real value lies in how they lay the groundwork for the future. With the potential to convey learning in the present, employment also puts young people on the path to further occupational training and development. **Those who hire youth for jobs in publicly funded youth programs or in the private sector should structure work to teach as well as to show the way to future employment.**

Employers should view wage costs not just as the purchase of today's labor but as investment in building capacity in tomorrow's work force. From this perspective, the rationale for private-sector "hire a youth" campaigns is not corporate charity but corporate self-interest. Similarly, the rationale for public jobs programs is not merely to "keep kids off the streets," but to develop their work potential. Albert Brown of IBM, chairman of the New York City Cooperative Education Commission, explains how jobs can reinforce schooling, especially in teenagers lacking other avenues to learn:

> At the job site, students learn that excellent attendance is a prerequisite for job success. This important work ethic transfers directly to the school situation. The stimulation of the job renews their interest in academics as they begin to understand the relationship between job requirements and courses.[26]

State governments are playing an increasingly active role in designing and funding youth programs. In addition to their already dominant role in financing secondary education, states are sponsoring programs specifically oriented to developing the employment potential of young people by putting them to work. The most popular model of state involvement to date is the conservation corps; in the last three years over one-third have adopted legislation to establish these programs.

The oldest and largest is the California Conservation Corps, founded in 1976. With an annual budget of $44 million, the CCC operates 18 residential centers and 22 nonresidential satellites enrolling approximately 2,000 participants statewide. Its program

include mandatory literacy training and GED preparation, critical elements to balance the "jobs" emphasis. Participants work in conservation activities on public lands and in emergency and disaster assistance efforts, blending public service with hard work.

Other state programs have their own unique features. In Michigan, the state conservation corps is targeted to young people receiving state general assistance payments. In Iowa, participation is limited to the disadvantaged. Local public and private agencies using corpsmembers' services provide 30 percent of the funding for the program. In New Jersey, the corps is targeted to high school dropouts who must return to school or an alternative educational program to participate. The job thus is made contingent on education.

Many local jurisdictions around the country also have established service corps programs. J. Anthony Kline, presiding justice of the California State Court of Appeals and cofounder of the San Francisco Conservation Corps, summed up the experience of these programs:

> Those kids need lifeskills—how to show up on time, how to take care of tools, how to be self-disciplined. They need discipline and structure in their lives and that's what the conservation and service corps are giving them.[26]

States should continue and, where possible, expand these service-work programs to give disadvantaged youth the experience they need to move into private-sector employment.

State programs have emerged in part to fill the gap left by expiration of several federal youth programs since 1980. Current federal involvement in youth employment issues is carried on, at a much reduced level, through the Job Training Partnership Act. JTPA emphasizes placement in private-sector jobs as an important criterion for evaluating program performance. Because of this emphasis, much of the 40 percent of JTPA funds for youth programs is devoted to short-term world of work instruction, job-search assistance, and placement for in-school youth. This stress on placement and the desire to limit program costs creates a disincentive to providing disadvantaged youth with the long-term, comprehensive, and more expensive employability development programs they need.

However, JTPA also uses a performance measure called "youth competencies attained" to evaluate youth programs. These skills correspond to the four aspects of employability outlined in this discussion. Private Industry Councils are already developing these competency measures; all states are collecting data to evaluate youth programs by these standards, appropriately reserving placement-related judgments for adult programs.

As PICs begin to accept youth competencies to measure program accomplishments, they will be more disposed to offer an appropriate range of developmental activities that serves those youth most in need and increases their long-term employment potential. **Federal Department of Labor officials should emphasize use of "youth competencies attained" to measure the success of employability development programs. This policy would allow more comprehensive programs better focused on youth at risk.**

The federal government also

funds, as part of JTPA, the largest public jobs program, the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program (SYETP). It provides work experience for approximately 700,000 disadvantaged youth each summer at a cost of $825 million. (The potential for adding a remedial education component to this program was discussed in the previous chapter.) Funding is a perennial question mark as successive budget proposals have threatened to halve the program or change the distribution of funds in other ways. **Federal officials should continue their support for the federal summer jobs programs to give disadvantaged youth the chance to work.**

While pre-employment competency and work maturity are essential ingredients for finding and holding jobs, they may seem "second nature" to adults with successful careers. The public should come to realize that for many inexperienced youth, these skills must be learned. Disadvantaged youth in particular benefit from special programs that explicitly teach what working is all about. Schools and businesses should cooperate fully in these programs. Businesses and government should provide jobs that give youth a chance to experience the working world first hand. The result will be a better prepared youth labor force for the nation's economy.

Recommendations

School and business officials should:

- use pre-employment competency and work maturity programs as the basis for initiating a collaborative relationship; and
- balance job search and placement activities with an emphasis on basic educational achievement.

School officials should:

- integrate work concepts more fully into high school curricula and train teachers to use these techniques;
- make pre-employment competency and work maturity programs available for all youth who will benefit from them, particularly those disadvantaged in the job market; and
- actively solicit business participation in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of these programs.

Business officials should:

- advise schools on how to prepare youth for the job-search process;
- contribute to local job search/pre-employment programs by assigning staff to act as guest speakers, mock interviewers, and mentors and by donating equipment;
- work with school guidance counselors to identify local job openings for work experience slots;
- expand efforts to hire youth in conjunction with programs to provide pre-employment/work maturity skills training and academic study; and
- make multi-year commitments in their support for good programs.

State and federal officials should:

- continue and expand where possible public jobs programs

to give disadvantaged youth an opportunity to work; and

- use the JTPA performance reporting system to encourage longer-term, more comprehensive programs that increase employability and serve youth most in need.

4. Occupational Skills

The fourth aspect of employability, occupational skills, encompasses the technical knowledge and ability to do a specific job. A variety of agencies provide training in skills in many different forms, from classroom-based activities in vocational schools supported by public funds, to hands-on training at the work site as part of an employer's cost of doing business. Preparing youth for jobs, however, is a broader enterprise than occupational training, an activity that lies at the end of the school-to-work continuum. This part of youth employability development is best left to employers, rather than educational systems.

Most people acquire their work skills on the job; jobs lead to training, rather than vice versa. When the President's Commission on Automation recently asked workers where they learned the actual skills they used in their work, only 40 percent reported learning them in formal education and training programs. The rest learned on the job, either informally by trial and error, or in company-sponsored training.[27]

The private sector spends an estimated $30 to $40 billion annually training its employees. For this reason, youth development programs should focus on the areas of basic skills, pre-employment skills, and work maturity that help young people secure employment, thus putting them in line for company training.

Business leaders appear to agree with this approach. Economist Anthony Carnevale stated the business position in an article for the private-sector-based American Society for Training and Development:

> The learning of broad occupational or professional skills should be left to post-secondary institutions and job-specific training should be left to employer-provided workplace training. A more general curriculum for all students that emphasizes basic academic and vocational skills, including career planning and job search skills, would seem more appropriate.[28]

School administrators have not always welcomed this approach. The 1982 Center for Public Resources survey found that:

> While school respondees often cited vocational skills as the most important factor in youth employability, the business view was that if schools provided adequately educated youth, business would provide, indeed, overwhelmingly does provide technical training.[29]

Educators and business leaders should talk directly about their respective roles, and their expectations of each other's systems, in preparing young people for work.

Schools do best imparting basic skills; businesses do best generating jobs and training people to do them. Many opportunities exist for the two sectors to work together. Neither should have to play the other's role. Schools should keep vocational courses

broad and orientational, and use them to motivate students for the task of learning basic skills. Employers, on the other hand, can provide jobs that impart learning and demonstrate the connection of education to work. Making jobs and classrooms more relevant to one another is a key to successful youth programs.

Educators must be realistic about what school-based occupational training can achieve. It can be an important part of overall employability development. Aside from introducing young people to occupational skills, vocational training helps motivate them, demonstrates the importance of academic skills, and helps keep potential dropouts in school. These effects on employability can be as important as any direct gains in occupational skills.

Schools err, however, when they try to make vocational education courses too occupationally specific. Federal and state governments have supported vocational education for over 70 years. Many of these programs are criticized today for their shortcomings on two fronts: failure to improve the basic education or improve earnings and length of employment. Narrow, job-specific skills training at the secondary level, for example, results in immediate labor market gains for only two groups: males in the seasonal construction trades and females entering clerical occupations. Even these gains disappear within five years, however, as youth with more broad-based educations gain experience and training in the workplace.

The biggest problem with vocational education is that secondary schools cannot possibly keep pace with industry in state-of-the-art equipment to train students, nor can they compete successfully with the private sector for trainers with up-to-date knowledge of the content of jobs. School-based vocational training all too often fails to relate to emerging opportunities in the local labor market. To have access to the equipment, instructors, and up-to-date job information students need, administrators of vocational programs must join forces with employers. **Schools should seek opportunities for students to use company equipment and work with private-sector trainers. Companies could "release" employees to teach a course or work for a semester in a vocational school, thus bringing their current experience of the workplace into vocational curricula.**

In general, vocational education programs should concentrate on developing the employability of students and leave occupational training to employers. Several types of programs have developed, with varieties of business support, that capture the employability effects of this broader definition of vocational education. "Magnet" or career schools, pioneered in the 1970s, have become common, especially in larger cities. They provide specialized study and training directed toward specific professions as part of the general high school curriculum.

Magnet school programs usually center on one particular occupational theme. They prepare youth for immediate job entry, postsecondary training, or college enrollment, depending on location and orientation. Magnet schools have a number of strengths: they draw and motivate students, forge greater business and education ties, and can help attract new businesses to the area. Companies have taken a leading role in developing these schools because they

provide a pool of motivated potential workers already oriented toward a professional field.

The Wall Street business community, through the Downtown Lower Manhattan Association, helped design one of New York City's successful magnet schools—the Murry Bergtraum High School for Business Careers. Many Wall Street firms believe that a business-oriented high school attracts students into the financial industry. Now, after several years of operation, the school still benefits from business assistance in planning the general curriculum, updating courses, soliciting equipment donations, and providing internships and jobs. Professional educators translate business priorities into specific courses and requirements.

A variation on the magnet school model exists at New York's Academy of Finance, which combines five high schools and a community college in offering a business-oriented curriculum developed by Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc. Students take special courses in finance and economics in their junior year and more advanced courses the next. Summer jobs with Wall Street firms give students an opportunity to put classroom learning into effect. Their teachers join them in this summer experience, thus sharpening their own knowledge of job requirements in the financial community.

The Atlanta school district established an extensive system of magnet schools, four of which make up what school officials call their "technology quadrangle." Each of the units offers specialized courses in technology application, communications, science and mathematics, information processing, and decision-making. All four emphasize basic course work in languages, science, and mathematics. The private sector supports the program financially and with many services, including one-semester internships for students.

Upon completion of their internships, students receive an "experience certificate" recognized by local employers as proof of employability. This certificate is an important selling point for students looking for their first "real jobs" because it attests to their readiness for work in terms that employers have agreed on. Strong ties to employers in a particular field of business, such as those developed in Atlanta, keep magnet schools relevant to the occupations they focus on. **Business can help schools stay up-to-date with labor market demand by working closely with them to design curricula, supply equipment, and offer internships and part-time jobs to students.**

Cooperative education is experiencing renewed interest as a program that connects vocational education directly to the working world. While in magnet schools the curriculum centers on one career field, cooperative education offers students many occupational choices in one school setting. As in magnet schools, "co-op ed" students combine learning with working in their field of interest, while maintaining the focus on education. Cooperative education differs from the more familiar "work-study" in that schooling and job placement are linked directly.

The New York City school system has the oldest and largest program of this type in the country, monitored by an advisory board of over 40 city business, education, and labor leaders. This board advises school staff on

emerging job trends and recruits employers to give students jobs in their chosen occupational fields. Close contact with these local employers continually provides school officials with information about local labor market needs.

The state of New Jersey is expanding its cooperative education programs using JTPA education funds and its provisions for "tryout employment" (described in the previous chapter). With this help, private-sector companies create additional job slots, giving disadvantaged youth a chance to strengthen their vocational preparation by working.

In cooperative education programs, the business "constituency" is more varied than is the case with magnet schools. These schools' placement counselors must develop relationships with many different employers to find appropriate slots for students. Despite the extra effort involved, many school systems are expanding cooperative education. Its appeal is due largely to the fact that the content of the job reinforces the importance of education. **Schools can expand the use of cooperative education by contacting more employers and securing jobs that relate directly to each student's vocational interest. Employers should contact schools to offer placement opportunities for cooperative education students.**

Schools can strengthen the link between vocational education and the job market by instituting intensive placement services for graduates. School officials in Pittsburgh improved the entire system's vocational education program by organizing student job placements systematically under one "umbrella" — the Student Job Placement Section. As a result, job counselors do not duplicate efforts contacting employers, and this way all students, including the educationally and economically disadvantaged, are assured a chance at the most appropriate jobs. A combination of federal, state, and local monies support the program. Over 800 private-sector employers—from U.S. Steel to small grocery stores—and 250 public-sector employers are involved each year. **School officials should organize job-placement services carefully and work with other placement agencies, such as the Employment Service, to improve the match of students to jobs, ensuring use of classroom-based learning on the job.**

Making sure that occupational training is relevant to the job market is a critical issue for schools and other training providers. The state of Vermont assures a close fit between its training programs and job opportunities through careful development and application of information about the occupational structure of the state's labor markets. The state Department of Employment and Training uses a competency-based system for its JTPA training programs. They cover all four aspects of employability, thus ensuring a complete work preparation system.

To implement JTPA, Vermont, like many other states, conducted an employer survey that identified 36 growth occupations with upcoming needs for additional manpower. The department uses this information to decide what sort of training programs to fund. It scrutinizes these programs carefully, insisting that they provide young people with the skills that local employers have indicated they need. Funds for training in other occupations are not denied

out-of-hand, but the department has asked for program revisions based on this local employment information.[30] **School and local officials should assess local labor market needs carefully. Before offering occupational training, they should be certain that it corresponds to demands in the local economy.**

Local business organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce or the Private Industry Council, are closer than schools to knowledge of developments in the job market. They can assist the education system by providing up-to-date information to school guidance counselors, curriculum planners, and other school officials responsible for employment outcomes of education.

In contrast to training provided by schools and other public agencies, employer-based occupational training can be specific to a particular job in a particular company. This employment tie is its strength. However, for public investments in preparing youth for work, this specificity can present problems. It may lead to "tracking" youth into specific job categories at too early an age, compounding problems for minorities and the economically disadvantaged. For some youth, however, specific occupational training may be appropriate. Two of the best employer-based approaches to occupational training that retain a role for public agencies are the apprentice system and publicly funded on-the-job training.

Apprenticeship is a time-honored model of occupational skill training with a specific employer. Apprenticeship involves the employer, current job-holders and relevant unions, and classroom-based educators in a formal program of hands-on training and related instruction to prepare young people for jobs. Many northern European countries base their work preparation system on the apprentice model, but it is not used widely in the United States. Limited access to such programs has prompted efforts in recent years to open apprenticeships to more women and minorities. Movement has begun to broaden the list of occupations accepting apprentices to include more jobs, especially in the health care and food service industries.

Apprentices are trainees in the employ of a firm. Employers and current employees (frequently through their unions) decide which jobs will have apprentices, how many there will be, and what kind of workplace training and related classroom instruction is appropriate. Because this method of training is concentrated in highly skilled, well-paid trades, apprenticeship programs generally require several years to complete. Apprentices become journeymen and "graduate" to full wages with the firm when the training period is over. Journeyman status is a portable credential, recognized by all employers with jobs in the particular occupational field.

Businesses support these programs to ensure themselves of a supply of well-trained workers. School officials are gratified to see their graduates enter well-regarded occupational training, assume jobs, and enjoy the prospect of steady careers. As apprentice opportunities expand, more disadvantaged youth will benefit as well. **Businesses with apprenticeship programs or apprenticeable occupations can work with their current employees and school officials to expand existing apprenticeship opportunities. In whatever occupational training programs they**

undertake, business-education collaborations should strive to reach the correspondence between training and labor market demands that the apprentice system exemplifies.

In the past decade, school officials and administrators of public job-training programs have developed pre-apprenticeship programs to put disadvantaged youth in line for full participation. The Ventures in Community Improvement (VICI) program is a successful pre-apprenticeship model designed by Public/Private Ventures, a Philadelphia-based research and demonstration organization. VICI projects teach occupational skills and make physical improvements to communities in 6- to 12-month training programs. Each project involves crews of six or seven disadvantaged youth enrollees in on-site training under the supervision of experienced craftspersons. Trainees earn at least the minimum wage and meet demanding production schedules to fill commitments to contracting organizations.

In New York City, two six-woman crews are trained each year by journeymen from the painters' union; they repaint firebombed, water-damaged school buildings under contract to the Board of Education. Craftsperson-supervisors teach the skills required to do the work, demand good work habits, and provide their trainees with entree into related jobs and union apprenticeships. In each VICI site, local private and public money is committed to supplement federal or foundation funds.

Evaluations of VICI projects show that disadvantaged participants, upon completion of training, are twice as likely to find employment and three times as likely to be apprenticed as similar teenagers in a control group.

School officials and administrators of public job-training programs should work with unions and private companies to explore the possibility of developing pre-apprenticeship programs as "feeders" for apprentice training.

On-the-job training (OJT) is another skills-training approach based on existing jobs in the labor market. Like apprentices, participants in OJT are employees of the firm from the beginning of training. Their wages are partially reimbursed from federal funds through the Job Training Partnership Act. The local Private Industry Council contracts with an employer to provide the training and oversees its design and implementation. In most cases, trainees must meet JTPA eligibility requirements regarding income, i.e., they must be economically disadvantaged. The PIC expects that trainees will become permanent employees.

In 1967, Consolidated Edison (Con Ed), the New York utility company, launched an OJT program to hire and train teenaged dropouts. The program places equal emphasis on remedial education and job-related skills. "Trainees are actually trial employees," according to Regina Frederickson, director of employment services for Con Ed. "They're on salary and are clocking vacation and pension time from the moment they enter training and do not have to go through a probationary period when they move into the job."[31]

The academic component, consisting of 200 hours of half-day sessions averaging 15 hours a week, emphasizes job-relevant math and reading skills. Training groups are small, allowing exten-

sive student-teacher interaction and weekly counseling. Because of this individual attention, job-retention rates are higher than with Con Ed's regular hires. Today, the program is supported by the New York City PIC, with Con Ed contributing 20 to 25 percent of the training costs.

OJT operates on the basis of contracts between a company and the Private Industry Council. In New York City the PIC deals with companies and potential trainees one at a time. The PIC focuses on the small and medium-sized businesses that comprise 92 percent of the city's 190,000 employers. In some years, the PIC has signed OJT contracts with over 100 companies. At the present time, few programs concentrate on youth because employers are reluctant to offer them the hiring commitment that implicitly or explicitly is a part of OJT contracts.

As a practical matter, OJT contracts generally reimburse the employer for up to 50 percent of wage costs for a specified time period. Payments are not intended to subsidize trainees' wages. Instead, the OJT process gives workers time to learn how to do a job, and gives employers a financial incentive to provide this learning time. The reimbursement feature of OJT is an explicit recognition that jobs themselves are learning experiences. **Schools and businesses can work together to identify job possibilities within a firm where reimbursement for training would be an appropriate hiring incentive. They also can identify graduates for whom this type of training would be useful. If JTPA funds are involved, OJT slots can be developed for a school's disadvantaged students.**

In making decisions on which job applicants to hire and which employees to train, employers choose those most likely to succeed. For this reason, whatever additional efforts the public and private sector mount should concentrate on those least likely to make it on their own. **Public investments in learning to work should focus on the needs of disadvantaged and minority youth, those least likely to find their own way in the job market.** This is a difficult standard to maintain. Policy makers and the public judge programs such as JTPA and vocational education on their ability to place people in jobs, creating the inclination to "choose the best" for public programs. This is the very tendency that helps exclude the disadvantaged from employers' in-house training. Too great an emphasis on job placement can cause public programs to enroll only those who would have been hired anyway. This danger is very strong in OJT.

All those involved in youth preparation efforts—school officials, business leaders, and public policy makers—should be aware that rapid job placement may not always be appropriate for youth, advantaged or disadvantaged. When scarce public funds are involved, schools and other youth-serving agencies should spend them on broad developmental activities, such as programs of basic skills, pre-employment competency and work maturity, to prepare youth for jobs and training in the private sector.

Recommendations

School and business officials should:

- sort out their respective roles and expectations in youth preparation efforts;
- assess present and projected job market needs and see that occupational training corresponds to local demands; and
- work together to develop internships, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training opportunities for disadvantaged students that complement their classroom activities.

Business leaders should:

- support school-based vocational programs by helping plan curricula, donating equipment, and releasing employees to teach and work with students;
- make jobs and internships available for cooperative education programs and other vocational students;
- expand apprentice programs to include more disadvantaged youth; and
- use the financial incentives of try-out employment and on-the-job training programs to provide learning time for youth who otherwise would not be hired.

Schools administrators should:

- ensure that vocational programs provide broad-based preparation for work, including adequate attention to basic education, pre-employment competency, and work maturity;
- ask local business groups to survey their members or provide staff to analyze local labor market needs to improve vocational programs;
- draw heavily on business expertise in designing vocational curricula, special skills training programs, and courses for magnet schools; and
- reach out to employers to find placement opportunities related to students' occupational interests.

Schools, businesses, and government agencies already have invested heavily in the enterprise of preparing youth for work. Still, millions remain unemployed because they lack the essential skills for today's job market. For poor and minority youth especially, the problem is becoming chronic; it threatens to become acute for the U.S. economy as these young people make up ever larger proportions of the available labor pool.

The answer may lie in a reexamination of the existing "portfolio." Schools, businesses, and all levels of government bring different expertise and resources to the effort. Each must recognize and draw on the other's strengths, joining their activities to nurture the difficult passage of student to productive citizen. For the disadvantaged, that passage is arduous and tenuous

The best means is a chain of assistance from basic skills instruction in schools to the training employers provide at work. In this system of shared responsibility, youth who are at risk of failure could progress in a logical sequence to productive employment.

Planning this continuum of services requires all partners to act together to find their mutual interests, define common goals, and discover the contributions each can make. Preparing youth for work demands the best efforts of all.

Notes

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2. National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

3. National Alliance of Business, *Employment Policies: Looking to the Year 2000* (Washington, D.C., February 1986), p. i.

4. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings: January 1986* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986), Table 38.

5. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of Education*, 1984 Edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), p. 154.

6. National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics, *"Make Something Happen": Hispanics and Urban High School Reform*, 2 Volumes (New York: Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1984), p. 23.

7. Denis P. Doyle and Terry W. Hartle, *Excellence in Education: The States Take Charge* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1985).

8. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, various issues.

9. Robert Taggart, *A Fisherman's Guide: An Assessment of Training and Remediation Strategies* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: W.E. Upjohn Institute, 1981). For reporting purposes, the U.S. Department of Labor has merged the categories of pre-employment competency and work maturity.

10. In the 1970s, 17 percent of the new jobs went to youth. In 1979, teenagers held 3.66 million full-time jobs, but this number had fallen to 2.4 million by 1984. Of the 4.18 million new jobs created since the beginning of the late 1982 recovery, less than 102,000—or 2.4 percent—went to teenagers. Testimony of Gordon Berlin before the House Committee on Education and Labor.

11. Andrew Hahn and Robert Lerman, *What Works in Youth Employ- Policy?* (Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1985) p. x.

12. National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk*, p. 8.

13. American Council of Life Insurance, *Functional Literacy and the Workplace* (Washington, D.C., 1983) p. 22.

14. Committee for Economic Development, *Investing in Our Children* (Washington, D.C., 1985).

15. American Council of Life Insurance, *Functional Literacy and the Workplace*, p. 23.

16. Bernard Lefkowitz, *Jobs for Youth: A Report from the Field* (New York, N.Y.: The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 1982) p. 13.

17. American Council of Life Insurance, *Functional Literacy and the Workplace*, p. 22.

18. Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, *Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Education Commission of the States, June 1983) p. 30.

19. Henry M. Levin, *The Educationally Disadvantaged: A National Crisis* (Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures, July 1985), p. 17.

20. Gordon Berlin, "Towards a System of Youth Development: Replacing Work, Service, and Learning Deficits with Opportunities", Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities (Washington, D.C., March 26, 1984) p. 15.

21. Hahn and Lerman, *What Works in Youth Employment Policy?* p. 62.

22. Interview with Ivan Charner, project director, Institute for Work and Learning, Washington, D.C., June 10, 1985.

23. Martha Woodall, "Class Helps Students Make Their Job Searches Successful," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 22, 1985, p. 18.

24. "Youth Unemployment: One Company's Response," testimony by Richard V. Lawson, Polaroid Corporation, to the Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition, New York City, June 1983.

25. Henrietta Schilit and Richard Lacey, *The Private Sector Youth Connec-*

tion, Volume 1 (New York, N.Y.: Vocational Foundation, 1985), p. 22.

26. J. Anthony Kline, quoted in Douglass Lea, editor, *Youth Can: Reporting on the Youth Conservation and Service Corps Conference*, May 7-9, 1985, Chevy Chase, Maryland, p. 4., available from Human Environment Center.

27. Anthony Carnevale, *Jobs for the Nation: Challenges for a Society Based on Work* (Washington, D.C.: American Society for Training and Development, 1984), p. 38.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 32

29. American Council of Life Insurance, *Functional Literacy in the Workplace*, p. 23.

30. Interview with Peter Comart, JTPA program planner, Department of Employment and Training, Montpelier, Vermont, September 4, 1985.

31. Schilit and Lacey, *The Private Sector Youth Connection*, p. 22.

Appendix A

High School Graduation Rates by State, 1983[1]

Region and State	Student Percent
New England	
Connecticut	77.9
Maine	76.7
Massachusetts	77.5
New Hampshire	76.5
Rhode Island	75.2
Vermont	85.0
Regional Average	78.1
Mid-Atlantic	
Delaware	88.9
Maryland	81.4
New Jersey	82.7
New York	66.7
Pennsylvania	79.7
Regional Average	79.9
Midwest	
Illinois	77.1
Indiana	78.3
Iowa	88.0
Michigan	73.4
Minnesota	90.7
Ohio	82.2
Wisconsin	84.0
Regional Average	82.0
South	
Alabama	67.4
Arkansas	76.2
Dist. of Columbia	58.4
Florida	65.5
Georgia	65.9
Kentucky	68.4
Louisiana	57.2
Mississippi	63.7
North Carolina	69.3
Oklahoma	79.6
South Carolina	66.2
Tennessee	65.1
Texas	69.4
Virginia	75.7
West Virginia	77.4
Regional Average	68.4
West	
Alaska	77.8
Arizona	68.4
California	75.1
Colorado	79.2
Hawaii	82.2
Idaho	77.9
Kansas	82.5
Missouri	76.2
Montana	85.1
Nebraska	84.1
Nevada	74.6
New Mexico	71.4
North Dakota	94.8
Oregon	73.0
South Dakota	85.0
Utah	84.5
Washington	75.5
Wyoming	81.7
Regional Average	79.3
Northeast	78.9
Midwest	82.0
Northeast and Midwest	80.1
South	68.4
West	79.3
South and West	76.6
U.S. Total	77.9

[1]Percent of public school students entering in the ninth grade who graduate from the same school. Graduation rates do not account for population migration or GEDs.

SOURCE. Department of Education, *State Education Statistics. State Performance Outcomes, Resource Inputs and Population Characteristics, 1983 and 1984* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

Appendix B

Employment Status of High School Dropouts (1980 Census)

Region and State	Total (in persons)	Percent Employed[1]	Percent Unemployed	Percent Not in Labor Force
New England				
Connecticut	23761	47.56	15 03	37.41
Maine	6987	43 62	17.70	38 46
Massachusetts	38957	47.88	14.86	37 26
New Hampshire	6183	55.71	16.70	27.59
Rhode Island	9986	52 09	15 29	32 65
Vermont	3736	41.81	19.73	38.46
Total	93690	48 30	15 57	36.13
Mid-Atlantic				
Delaware	5496	35.72	17 52	46.76
Maryland	38668	37.70	15 81	45.46
New Jersey	53862	36.76	23.74	46.16
New York	136203	31 29	15 60	52 12
Pennsylvania	83462	37.46	17.92	44 59
Total	317691	34.70	17.06	48 23
Midwest				
Illinois	109101	37 80	17.53	44.67
Indiana	58353	34.73	20 96	44 30
Iowa	18870	41.96	17.40	40 61
Michigan	83363	31.14	22 34	46 51
Minnesota	23539	46 30	16.72	36 96
Ohio	84714	33.72	18 81	47.47
Wisconsin	35993	42 67	16 20	39.12
Total	413933	38.29	19.25	44.46
South				
Alabama	48906	38.76	14 33	48 91
Arkansas	28731	39.12	14.94	45 94
District of Columbia	5932	24.97	16 99	58 04
Florida	107653	47.17	12 56	40.27
Georgia	73210	42.70	13 06	44.22
Kentucky	59196	27.42	15 34	57 24
Louisiana	68587	36 33	10 06	51.61
Mississippi	35787	36.19	13.28	50 04
North Carolina	72523	46 73	13 93	39.33
Oklahoma	31679	44.22	11.41	44 36
South Carolina	35522	43.29	13 50	43.21
Tennessee	56723	36 07	15 62	48 11
Texas	188523	47.66	10 07	42.27
Virginia	64563	42 62	13.12	44.25
West Virginia	24256	24 53	14 84	60.64
Total	881590	41.77	12.74	45.49
West				
Alaska	3618	34 30	18 05	47 65
Arizona	36766	42 32	14 85	42 82
California	247394	44 94	14 63	40 44
Colorado	27877	46 44	14.72	38 83
Hawaii	4581	37 97	10.11	51.92
Idaho	10563	47.65	15.88	36 47
Kansas	20224	47.76	13 51	38.73
Missouri	51114	39.45	19 33	41.22
Montana	6508	40 89	17.76	41.33
Nebraska	9280	47.08	15.42	37.50
Nevada	10345	58 07	14 06	29 67
New Mexico	17310	35.21	16.12	48 88
North Dakota	4087	45 00	15 32	39 69
Oregon	28276	42 06	19 02	38 90
South Dakota	6117	40.28	15 29	44 43
Utah	15504	44 96	14.71	40 33
Washington	37885	42 01	18.26	39.71
Wyoming	5258	51 41	10 40	38.19
Total	542677	43 90	15 60	40 50
Northeast	411281	41.50	16 32	42.16
Midwest	413933	36.29	19.25	44.46
Northeast and Midwest	825214	38 90	17.79	43 32
South	881590	41.77	12.74	45 49
West	542677	43 90	15 60	40 50
South and West	1424267	42 63	14.17	42 99
U.S. Total	2249461	40 66	15 96	43.16

[1]Includes part-time and full-time employment.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Census of Population*, PC 80-1-C1 US Summary, Table 239 (Washington, D.C., December 1983).

Appendix C

Youth-Employment-to-Population Ratios: 1980-1984

Region and State	1980	1984	Percent Change
New England			
Connecticut	52.4	50.5	-1.9
Maine	44.3	49.3	5.0
Massachusetts	53.8	56.0	2.2
New Hampshire	57.6	64.5	6.9
Rhode Island	55.0	55.1	1.0
Vermont	54.2	51.8	-2.4
Average	52.9	54.5	1.6
Mid-Atlantic			
Delaware	48.8	49.8	1.2
Maryland	49.8	47.0	-2.8
New Jersey	41.4	43.0	1.6
New York	36.0	33.9	-2.1
Pennsylvania	44.3	41.6	-2.7
Average	44.0	43.1	-0.9
Midwest			
Illinois	47.1	42.9	-4.2
Indiana	45.8	46.0	0.2
Iowa	55.4	48.9	-6.5
Michigan	47.8	45.2	-2.6
Minnesota	63.4	61.1	-2.3
Ohio	48.2	42.5	-5.7
Wisconsin	56.9	53.6	-3.3
Average	52.1	48.8	-3.5
South			
Alabama	32.9	33.5	0.6
Arkansas	42.3	38.9	-3.4
Dist. of Columbia	27.7	28.7	1.0
Florida	45.7	46.2	0.5
Georgia	45.0	42.7	-2.3
Kentucky	43.5	38.9	-4.6
Louisiana	36.7	37.0	0.3
Mississippi	37.4	27.9	-9.5
North Carolina	45.7	43.2	-2.5
Oklahoma	49.3	42.9	-6.4
South Carolina	38.3	37.2	-1.1
Tennessee	39.3	38.7	-0.6
Texas	49.6	45.4	-4.2
Virginia	44.9	43.8	-1.1
West Virginia	35.1	25.6	-9.5
Average	40.9	37.9	-3.0
West			
Alaska	42.1	40.9	-1.2
Arizona	52.2	53.6	1.4
California	48.8	43.0	-5.8
Colorado	53.2	50.8	-2.4
Hawaii	42.8	37.9	-4.9
Idaho	52.3	50.8	-1.5
Kansas	58.2	51.1	-7.1
Missouri	49.1	46.0	-3.1
Montana	47.5	45.8	-1.7
Nebraska	57.6	54.6	-3.0
Nevada	53.3	45.2	-8.1
New Mexico	40.4	39.6	-0.8
North Dakota	51.4	50.8	0.6
Oregon	50.4	47.0	-3.4
South Dakota	61.4	55.8	-5.6
Utah	60.3	55.2	-5.1
Washington	52.5	43.6	-8.9
Wyoming	57.3	49.1	-8.2
Average	51.7	47.8	-3.9
Northeast	48.8	49.3	0.5
Midwest	52.1	48.6	-3.5
Northeast and Midwest	50.1	49.0	-1.1
South	40.9	37.9	-3.0
West	51.7	47.8	-3.9
South and West	46.8	43.3	-3.5
U.S. Average[1]	48.9	46.2	-2.7

[1]Average of 50 States

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, *Geographic Profile of Employment and Unemployment, 1980 and 1984* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1981 and 1985).

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Other Publications of the Northeast-Midwest Institute

The 1986 Guide to Federal Policy and the Region (1986) $20.00

This guide provides an in-depth analysis of current tax reform proposals, regional economic patterns, the probable impact of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law, and state-by-state breakdowns of fiscal 1987 budget proposals in six major areas. The tax overhaul section covers state and local deductibility, tax-exempt financing mechanisms, depreciation and tax investment credits, the oil import fee, plus energy and rehabilitation tax credit proposals. State-by-state analyses cover programs in community and economic development, human resources, natural and physical resources, energy, defense, and economic competitiveness.

Reaching for Recovery: New Economic Initiative in Michigan (1985) $10.00

by Charles Bartsch

This case study of recovery from economic distress examines the steps taken in Michigan that could be applied elsewhere. They include targeted industry development programs, centers for excellence, venture capital investments, and the improvement of a state's business climate.

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by Paula Duggan and Virginia Mayer

This report examines policy changes that could aid in the reabsorption of dislocated workers into the labor force. It proposes that the federal government become an "enabler" of state and community-based programs to provide workers with training opportunities, remedial education, job-search assistance, and labor market information. It also reviews successful programs sponsored by labor unions, companies, and public-private sector plans to mitigate the effects of plant closures and slowdowns on workers and their communities.

Shaping the Work Force of the Future: An Agenda for Change (1984) $7.50

This discussion summarizes the testimony of members of Congress and numerous experts on the development of successful employment and training policies for the rest of the century.

The Pentagon Tilt: Regional Biases in Defense Spending and Strategy (1985) $10.00

by Virginia Mayer

Defense spending patterns are analyzed in this report, which contains extensive statistical data. Numerous tables give state-by-state breakdowns for various types of military activities, including procurement, R&D, personnel, payroll, military construction, and installations. It discusses the president's proposed budget for fiscal 1986 and the direction of defense spending through fiscal 1989.

Partners in Growth: Business-Higher Education Development Strategies (1985) $5.00

by Peter H. Doyle and Candice Brisson

The first of six monographs analyzing options for policy makers at state and local levels and in the academic community to use their resources cooperatively for economic development.

Literacy at Work: Developing Adult Basic Skills for Employment (1985) $5.00

by Paula Duggan

The problem of adult illiteracy, especially among dislocated workers, is examined in relation to the needs of the workplace. This analysis suggests policies that educators, businesses, and public policy makers can adopt to raise worker competency levels in the basics of reading, writing, and mathematics.

Education Inc.: How Schools Strengthen the Local Economy (1986) $8.00

by Candice Brisson

This handbook for school administrators examines traditional and nontraditional ways of identifying school resources to foster local economic development. Examples of programs around the country are described. Workbook-style questions are included to help administrators assess the impact of their school systems on local economies.

Trading in Power: The Potential for U.S.-Canadian Electricity Exchange (1984) $15.00

by Diane DeVaul, Tom Keating, and Robert J. Sugarman, et al.

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